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element in the names of several kings, and an old chant alludes to the *tahonga*.

He naunau no ta Puku-naunau.	There is a sandalwood tree in Puku-naunau.
He rongo-rongo no ta Orongo.	There is a chanter at Orongo.
He tahonga no ta Puku-tahonga.	There is an expert craftsman in Puku-tahonga.
He kiakia no ta Puku-kiakia.	There is a *kiakia* bird on Puku-kiakia.

Present-day islanders still remember that the stone carvers were organized into a sort of guild. They were a privileged class, highly esteemed, and their profession was transmitted from father to son. To Geiseler (87, p. 13) and Thomson (215, p. 498) were pointed out natives who claimed to be the descendants of the image makers. They referred to their ancestors with as much pride as to the royal family. One of Thomson's guides "never missed an opportunity of stating that one of his forefathers was Uuratahui, the distinguished image maker."

Tepano told me that expert stone carvers (*tangata maori anga moai maea*) received orders from people who wanted a monument for their ahu. They worked under the leadership of a master (*tangata honui maori*) and were paid in fish, lobsters, and eels.

Expert fishermen were called *vaka-tangata* (people of the boat). They went fishing at the request of people who wanted fish.

RONGORONGO MEN

The sacred lore of Easter Island was stored in the memories of experts, called *tangata rongorongo*. Routledge (194, p. 244) is the first to apply this term to a special category of learned people. Present-day natives always speak of the chanters and learned men of the past as *tangata rongorongo*.

Thomson (215, p. 514) states that the knowledge of chants and of the so-called script associated with them was possessed only by members of the royal family, the chiefs of the six districts, the sons of the chiefs, and certain priests and teachers. There is little doubt that many experts belonged to aristocratic families. King Nga-ara, who was trained by his father, was one of the most famous *rongorongo* men of the nineteenth century. Other traditions, however, imply that chanters were numerous, and if this impression is correct, we may assume that nobility was not an absolute prerequisite for the profession. Probably on Easter Island as on Mangareva it was fitting for the king to possess the science of a priest, though it was not obligatory.

Little is known of the social functions of the *rongorongo* men. We know only that they taught chants in special schools, met once a year at Anakena to read the tablets, and gathered at Orongo during the annual competition of the bird-men (p. 390) where they "chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that is all" (194, p. 260).

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JOINT PROPERTY

592 423 241 Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

235 422 436 Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

431 476 602 Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts conforming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

226 422 501 The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

674 577 The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

181 674 577 The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

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in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll of the Maori *patu* is purely accidental.

FISHING

It is impossible to get even an approximate idea of the importance of fishing in pre-missionary times. Fishhooks are found in great abundance in caves, carved fish are common in petroglyphs, and fishing episodes are numerous in folklore. But Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126) states that fish had an insignificant place in the native diet and was considered a great delicacy. At the present time fishermen are few and go out only occasionally. Charli Teao is the only native I know for whom fishing has a special attraction and who derives benefits from this activity. While the *Mercator* was anchored in Hanga-roa Bay he supplied us with tuna which he traded for bread. Deep-sea fishing cannot be maintained on a profitable basis for there are only two boats on the island. Probably the lack of wood for building boats prevented extensive fishing in ancient times.

Numerous causes have contributed to the decline of fishing. The natives have had an ample supply of meat since the introduction of cattle and sheep. Moreover they have free access to only a small part of the coast. If they wish to fish on the north or south coasts, where the coves and low shore are particularly favorable, they must obtain written permission from the Williamson and Balfour Company, and many natives are too shy to ask for it. Easter Island has no protecting coral reef, and in winter months the sea is too rough for the canoes to go far offshore. The fishing season begins at the end of October. The fishing near the island is not good. Ever since Captain Cook's time men have complained of the scarcity of fish.

Fish are said to be most abundant between the islets of Motu-kaokao and Motu-nui. A stone image called Pou-haka-nononga of the Ahu-anakoiroroa was a landmark used by fishermen to find an area in the sea called Haka-no-nonga where tuna were plentiful. Other places in the deep sea which were traditionally favorable for fishing (*kona-ika-nui*) had proper names. Tuna were caught at points off the coast called Hatehate and Mitiake; the best area for the *ature* fish was at Haka-kainga and for *mahore* fish at Tuaniu. Shore fishing was mostly a feminine occupation, and according to legends was once practiced on a wide scale.

Fishermen were called *rava-ika*; expert fishermen were *maori* or *rava-ika-maa* (fishermen-with-knowledge). Canoe fishing was indulged in even by the king (p. 132). Geiseler (87, p. 37) noticed that next to weapons, fishing implements were the most valued artifacts.

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The following list gives the names of fish most commonly caught by the natives, under the methods used to capture them: 226 192

Hook fishing: Pei, big fish like tuna.
Kahi, tuna fish.
Miro, red fish with white tail.
Tarakuere.
Matahuira.
Kopuku haharoa.
Remoremo, very like the tuna.
Poopoo (Caranx cheilio).
Toremo.
Kanakana.
Kopuku (Acanthistus fuscus).
Papara-uri.
Mahaki (Girellops nebulosus), fished along shore by women.
Nanue, yellow stripes, fished along shore by women.
Ruhi.
Mango, shark, palatable fish in old days; said also to have been speared.
Aku (dorado).
Ivi-heheu, swordfish.
Koiro, conger eel.

Net fishing: Kotea-hiva (Labrichthys fuentesi).
Ature.
Koreva (Pseudomonocanthus paschalis).
Naumata-hauru.
Nohu.
Matuku.
Varevare-pua-toro.

Torch fishing: Marau.
Nohu.
Ihu.
Aku.
Mahaki.

During winter months—July, August, September—fishing was prohibited by a tapu and fish caught at that time were considered poisonous. This was true especially of the tuna (*kahi*) which was forbidden all the year round except in summer (230, vol. 6, p. 130). According to Roussel (190, p. 428) *kahi* were brought to the king or principal warriors (*mata-toa*). In more recent times tuna were allotted to the owner of the canoe and *pei* fish to his helpers. Several other kinds of fish were reserved for the *ariki*. 226 784

During the tapu months only the royal canoe (*vaka vaero*) could be used for fishing, with a crew composed of important men (*tangata-honui*). *Kahi* fished at this time were given to the king and to the oldest *tangata-honui*. Those who ate fish during the winter were under tapu and were obliged to live in separate huts. Even their excrement was considered dangerous and apt to kill people.

Fishermen had charms which were given to them by the king or the *ariki-paka* (probably priests) and which they kept in small baskets. The amulets were stones shaped like fish or decorated with fish; some of them had bird 226 789

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226 789 forms. Near ahu Mahatua is a stone covered with engraved vulvas (*komari*), called Pu-o-Hiro (Trumpet-of-Hiro) because of a natural hole which can be blown through like a trumpet. Legend says that it stood formerly in Hanga-roa and was brought to its present place by a raiding party of Tupa-hotu warriors. The shaking of this stone brought shoals of fish to the shore.

ANGLING

FISH HOOKS

227 Modern natives catch most of their fish by hook. Angling (*hi ite ika*) must always have been important, judging from the abundance of fishhooks which may still be discovered in the caves by the shore. The ancient fishhooks were of stone or bone, the latter being either simple or complex.

Legend says that the natives of ancient times used the thorns of the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) for making hooks, but the thorns are too small to have been put to any practical purpose. Composite wooden hooks were made for trade by some natives who asserted that they were authentic reproductions of old specimens.

One-piece Hooks

227 324 [773] **Stone Hooks.** Stone hooks were always of the one-piece type, although the stone point of a fishhook (fig. 11, *a*) in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection seems to indicate that at least one element of composite fishhooks might have been of stone. According to an ancient myth, long ago the natives had only stone hooks, but the fish would never bite (*pakoo*) at them. Hook fishing proved successful only after the fishermen learned from Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe how to make fishhooks from the bones of the dead. (See p. 363). Had stone fishhooks been the valueless implements the myth indicates, the ancient fishermen would not have put so much work and time into their manufacture. The numerous unfinished stone fishhooks and fragments of finished specimens found on the island deny that they were exceptional and intended only for ceremonial purposes. The myth mentions the *kahi* (tuna) as the fish that could not be captured with stone hooks, but we may infer from the name of the stone hook, *mangai kahi* (215, p. 537), that it was made especially for catching the tuna. Either the name of the *kahi* has been introduced in the myth instead of that of some other fish that required a smaller bone hook, or the legend has arisen after the use of stone fishhooks was abandoned.

At the time of Palmer's visit in 1868, Easter Islanders no longer employed stone fishhooks, and perhaps had given up the use of bone hooks too, after becoming familiar with iron fishhooks. Palmer (171, p. 173) says: "They did not offer any fishing lines for sale, and the only hooks we saw

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227 171 p. 82) and Maori fishhooks. The Mangarevan shanks have the same outline though the back projection is more accentuated than those from Easter Island.

Though Polynesian bonito hooks, like Easter Island composite hooks, are made of two pieces lashed together, they have no other character in common. The Easter Island composite hooks fulfilled the need for larger hooks better than the one-piece bone hooks, and their manufacture was no doubt easier than the painstaking drilling of bone plates.

The composite hooks of Easter Island may be divided into two classes: those with straight, cylindrical shanks and those with shanks slightly convex on the outer side. The straight shank has some similarity to two New Zealand composite hooks of moa bone figured by Beasley (14, pl. 11), but the New Zealand hooks have a projection near the top which is lacking in the Easter Island hooks. The slightly convex shank is like a Hawaiian type (14, p. 50). The broken shank of an Easter Island composite hook has a projecting barb on the inner side, a feature of the Hawaiian composite hook.

The point bases in Easter Island and Hawaiian hooks have exactly the same peculiar downward projection and are fitted in the same way (fig. 11, *e*). The methods of lashing are strikingly similar. The New Zealand composite hooks were provided with hackles like the Easter Island ones.

LASHING OF SNOOD

227 Many of the old hooks in public or private collections are provided with a snood (*kavei*). It is difficult to tell whether these snoods are really of old native make, but they probably represent an ancient method.

Small fishhooks examined by Dr. P. H. Buck in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22821-22824), have a lashing of simple transverse turns with a couple of half hitches. Chauvet (45, fig. 73) figures a very old composite bone fishhook from Easter Island, the snood of which seems to be wrapped by a strip of bark of the same kind as that on the hook described by Beasley (14, pl. 95, p. 57). The snoods of the two small fishhooks (*piko*) in the Bishop Museum collection are wrapped with a very fine strip of what seems to be tapa cloth or paper mulberry bark.

LINE AND ROD

226 227 283 Fishline (*hau*) was made of *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) bark. Poles are used now for fishing on shore and were known in olden times, to judge from the term in Roussel's vocabulary, *ika kohau* (to fish with a line: *kohau*, stick or pole).

BAIT

226 To catch tuna (*kahi*), small *ature* fish were used as bait (*mounu*). The *ature*, which is the size of a sardine, was probably split and fixed to the hook

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(*hakaanagaou*) lest the tuna tear it off. *Ature* were sometimes crushed between two stones and the flesh (*mamama*) wrapped (*viri*) with the line on the stone sinker. The hook was cast into the water with the stone and the line was fastened in such a way that a jerk was sufficient to release the stone. The crushed meat, wrapped with the stone, floated near the hook. 226

Sometimes two hooks were thrown at one time—a big one baited with crushed *ature* meat and a small one with a whole *ature*. The line with the small hook (*hau-maroki*) was fastened to the belt of the fisherman, and the one with the big hook (*hau mamama*) to a transverse stick in the canoe. The loose knot untied at the first bite (*pakoo*) of the fish. The fisherman allowed the line to go out before he pulled (*paipai*) in the fish.

To catch *pei* or *poopoo*, big fish living in deeper water than the *kahi*, the natives used long lines which they sank with a heavy stone. *Ature* was the usual bait. For some fish the natives attached several hooks to one line, spaced about one meter apart. Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions the use of fragments of mother-of-pearl to attract the fish, but I obtained no information on this point. As bonito hooks were not used on Easter Island, mother-of-pearl could well have been used for a lure. Even today when metal hooks have taken the place of lighter bone ones, the islanders still use stone to sink their hooks.

Crushed crayfish is considered a good bait for *tuamingo* and some other fish.

CONGER FISHING

Conger eels (*koiro*) are caught with a hook baited with *kotea* or *paoho* fish. Near Anakena is a rock which is said to have been put there by Hotumatua for the fishing of conger eels. I was told that some fishermen caught congers by diving and seizing them with the hands. [481]

NETS

I saw no net in the modern village of Hanga-roa. However, one was used in a fishing party in which one of our group participated. Fifty years ago nets were abundant and Geiseler (87, p. 37) admired their beautiful workmanship. Even the large nets had fine, regular meshes. To catch fish with a net is *tangu*. The expression *tono ki roto ki te kupenga* means to drive fish into a net. *Tuku* is to scoop with a hand net, to walk with open net. The corners of a net are termed *pingei*; the bottom, *taki*; the meshes, *piniku*. 227

The 2-ply cords for nets were made of *hau* bark (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or of paper mulberry bark twisted by women on their thighs. Nets in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, are made of clear yellow rope very like the *olona* string of Hawaii. 227 286

The making of nets (*iaa*) was a male industry in which even the king took part. The netting shuttles (*hika*) were made of *toro-miro*. A modern shuttle was made for

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The double-handled dip net is a rectangular bag whose mouth is attached along two poles tied together loosely at one end by a thick string which is fixed round one pole and its free end caught under a tight lashing on the other pole (fig. 12, *b*). Geiseler (87, p. 49) says that these nets were used along the shore. This type is similar to the Samoan hand net called *'upenga saosao'o* (34, p. 476) which was set across a channel or pool with one pole resting on the bottom and the other held up to open the net. The fisherman stood near the hinge while another man drove the fish into the net with a stick. The form of the Easter Island net suggests the same method. 227

Another net purchased by Geiseler consists only of a rectangular bag without a frame (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI 4963). The mouth of this net is 130 cm. long, the bottom 150 cm. long, and the depth 80 cm. The proportions and form of the bag correspond to those of the nets described above.

BAG NETS

No bag nets are in present use on the island. However, they were minutely described by my informants, and one specimen was collected by Geiseler. The net consisted of a bag with or without pouches on both sides, a wooden hoop, suspension lines, and sinkers. The different kinds of bag nets varied only in size and were named after the fish for which they were intended.

The *kupenga ature* were the largest nets. My informant estimated their depth at 3 meters, the diameter of the opening at 5 meters. The bottom was straight, and no reference was made to pouches. The mouth was attached to a wide, circular hoop made of twelve (?) rods of *marikuru* (*Sapindus saponaria*) wood bent over fire. Stone sinkers (*maea rengorengo*) enclosed in small nets were fastened to the bottom. This type of net is undoubtedly the same as the one referred to by Knoche (123, p. 186) as " . . . net two meters long, in the form of a bag tapering at the end, with a stone sinker. It is handled by two men. At the lower end of the net a crushed crab is put as bait and the net is immersed at depths over 150 feet." Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions some bag nets which were 30 feet long.

The *ature* caught in the *kupenga ature* net are small fish which were the usual bait for big tuna. The *kupenga ature* were baited with small crustaceans which the islanders call sea fleas (*koura*). The following method was used to catch *koura*. Bunches of seaweed (*rimu*) were left in "pot holes", which are numerous in rocks along shore, for a day or more to attract sea fleas, then strained through a net (*kupenga ruru rimu*) with very small meshes. The crustaceans passed through the meshes and were gathered into a small basket (*kete rauhiri rimu*). The basket was wrapped around with a long rope and was attached to bait lines above the hoop of the *kupenga ature*. When it was submerged, the basket was unwrapped with a jerk of the rope, and the crustaceans scattered about the net. The fishermen drove the *ature* into the net. 226

The *kupenga koreru* was made on the same principle as the *kupenga ature* but was smaller. This is evidenced by the fact that only three suspension lines were tied to the hoop. The *koreru* were described to me as small fish that can be eaten raw and which were caught at the same time as the tuna. 227

The *kupenga ura* was used to catch crayfish in shallow water near shore. A crayfish net of Easter Island is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4960). The circular hoop is made of wire and is 16 cm. in diameter. The net is a round bag with meshes 1¼ cm. wide. It is 29 cm. deep and widens considerably toward the bottom, which is 50 cm. wide. It is made of 2-ply cord (probably *hau* fiber) of brownish gray color. There is a lead sinker lying unattached on the bottom.

Curiously enough, *kupenga ura* was the name given to me for a variety of bag net for catching *korea*, a fish said to have been reserved for the king. These fish swarm near the coast and are easily netted from the shore. The net, as described by the natives, was like the ordinary bag nets already described. The bottom was provided with two extended corners or pouches, and the sinker was attached between the corners at the

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net is 75 feet long and 12 feet 10 inches broad. It is tied at each end to the top of a pole, probably of *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) 6 feet 10 inches long. A strong cord of hemp, probably of European manufacture, extends along the edges of the net. To this cord at the upper edge of the net are fastened 12 floats (*uto*) of *hau* wood 24 inches long. These are attached approximately every 6 feet to the suspension rope by strings tied through holes in the upper ends of the floats. The middle float was called *pito-o-te-kupenga* (the-navel-of-the-net). The lower edge of the net is weighted by 13 stones wrapped in banana tree bark and tied to the edging cord. These sinkers (*kaka*) weigh 196 grams and have an average length of 5 feet. When a shoal of fish was sighted, the two poles were stuck in the sand and the fish were driven toward the net.

Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions a net 200 feet long but this is probably exaggerated.

The *kupenga viri* (*viri*, to roll) was identical to the *kupenga maito* and was generally used at night.

The *kupenga matiro* had smaller meshes than those of the *kupenga maito* but the principle of the net was the same. It was used to catch *matiro*, a leaping fish.

The *kupenga ihe* was used to catch *ihe* (needle fish). It was the same type as the *kupenga maito* but was larger and had smaller meshes. It was carried to its place by several swimmers.

CASTING NETS

Though casting nets were not enumerated by my informants, they were seen by Thomson (215, p. 460): "Their light casting nets were used with great dexterity as they waded along the beach, and when a shoal of small fish appeared, the net was thrown with the right hand."

TURTLE NETS

For a great many years no turtles (*honu, kepukepu*) have been seen off the shores of Easter Island. The natives explain their disappearance by the passing of the kings (p. 133). Island folklore has many stories about turtles, and numerous petroglyphs represent them. Turtle shells which were worn as ornaments have been found in caves and graves.

My informant says that when turtles were seen, natives jumped into their canoes and went to meet them. They dived near the turtles and drove them into a special net (*kupenga honu*), similar to the *kupenga matiro* but with wider meshes and stronger ropes.

SINKERS

Twelve net sinkers are preserved in the Bishop Museum collection. Four have an artificial perforation, and the others are basalt rocks with a natural hole (fig. 13, *a*).

Of the four stones intentionally perforated, two are nearly flat with holes near one edge like the net weights of Tahiti (fig. 13, *c*). The remaining two belong to a widespread Polynesian type which, in its most characteristic form, is a sphere with a perforated projection at the top. In the same collection, a stone disc with a central hole (B2614) may well have been a sinker.

Three small oval stones weighing about ½ ounce each (fig. 13, *c-d*) are grooved for attachment of a cord. They are labeled in Young's catalog as "*atua mangaro*, fetish stones used by *tulunga* (sorcerers)." The natives identified them as ear pendants to increase their commercial value; they emphatically denied my suggestion that the

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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

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225 a house where the priest slept in order to learn the issue of a projected fishing party or to have revealed by a god the presence of a shoal of fish.

349 There is nothing in the *tupa* to facilitate access to the top of the tower, which is not a very comfortable place. The vaulted chamber inside suggests no practical purpose, since a cave or shelter would have been quite sufficient for the watchers, whose homes stood near the tower. Turtles were not, even then, common on Easter Island, where the climate is too cold for them and where there are only a few sandy beaches.

Eel Snaring

226 To catch eels (*koreha-puhi, koreha-tapatea, koreha-haoko, koreha-toko-*
227 *ari, koreha-mingo, koreha-ruma*), the natives use a snare (*here-koreha*) made of two sticks, generally 50 or 60 cm. long.

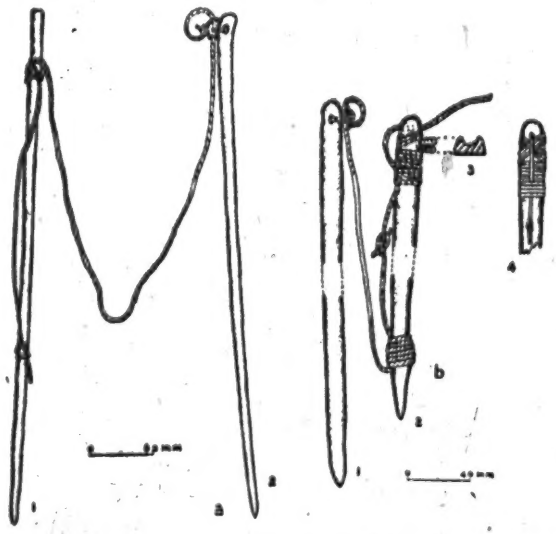

Figure 14.—Eel snares. *a*, snare collected by Geiseler in 1884 (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4922); 1, bait stick 622 mm. long; 2, stick with noose 640 mm. long; *b*, ancient snare (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4880): 1, stick with noose 245 mm. long; 2, bait stick 310 mm. long; 3, black stone; 4, lateral view of bait stick.

The thicker end of one of the sticks is perforated and a cord passes through the hole and is tied to the stick with a knot. The cord then passes between the knot and the stick to form a noose and the end of the cord is tied to the other stick (fig. 14). Bait is attached to the second stick while the one with the loop remains in the water perfectly still. The eels are caught along the shore. When an eel is attracted by the bait, the fisherman pushes the stick with the noose toward it so that to reach the bait the eel

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has to pass its head through the noose. The noose is closed by pulling the string which the fisherman holds in the same hand as the baited stick. 226

One such snare (fig. 14, *b*) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, (VI.4880) is much more elaborate than the present-day specimen. The bait stick is provided at its thicker end with a notched stone, the function of which is not clear; the rope is first tied around the thinner end, then runs along the stick, and is caught in the lashing and passes through a hole. The free end of the rope is used to tie the bait to the stick. 227

Eel snares of the same type as those of Easter Island were used in Rapa (212). In the Marquesas the snare consisted of one stick, which was held in one hand while the string was held in the other (104, p. 177). The eel snare is widespread in the Tuamotus and probably in the Society Islands, though it is not mentioned by Handy (103). In Samoa the eel snare is practically identical to that of Easter Island (34, p. 421). 227 171

Fishing by Hand

Octopus

Octopuses (*heke-puka*, octopus with short legs; *heke-horotea*, octopus with long legs) are caught with bare hands (*hakapari*) along the shore by moonlight. The fisherman bites the head of the octopus to kill it. Tradition states that formerly the natives built *hare heke*, houses where the octopuses sought shelter. They were driven into these shelters by magic. 226

Crayfish

Crayfish (*ura, ura raperape*) were formerly caught in a bag net, but that method has been discarded; now they are captured by hand either by day or by night. The fisherman dives (*ruku*) where he knows there are recesses or small caves. He seizes the crayfish by the body (*ipu*). At night crayfish are caught by the light of torches (*tuu ahi*) made with a rag soaked in sheep fat and fixed to the end of a stick. Formerly the natives used torches made of banana bark impregnated with fish fat. Fishing with torches is called *ika puhi*. Crayfish hunters always go by twos. The man holding the torch puts his foot on the crayfish, attracted by the light, and his companion picks it up and puts it into a bag. The most favorable time for catching crayfish is when the wind is new (*tokerau hoou*), that is, when the wind turns and pushes the crayfish toward the shore. At Puhinga on the south coast crayfish are especially abundant.

Reef Fishing

Reef fishing (*hahari*) and the gathering of shellfish were important activities of women in olden days. The women used small spears called *ruruki* for some kinds of fish or to remove shells from the rocks. Fish caught thus by women were *paroko, patuki, tuamingo, rae-mea*, and *mahaki*. Crabs were not despised then as they are today. The natives distinguished between the kinds [227] [262]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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of crabs: ***pikea-uri, pikea-nahenahe, pikea-tutu-au, pikea-tura-moa, pikea-paki-maroa,*** and ***pikea-toetoe.***

Sea urchins (***hatuke***) are plentiful along the coast. Natives crush them between two stones and boil them. In olden days trepangs or bêche-de-mer (***pipiri***) were eaten after their skins had been rubbed off. A big Coelenterata (***otaki***) is said to have been eaten. I saw the natives eat another mollusk known as ***takatore-pare.***

Islanders are still fond of small shellfish, ***pipipipi-uriuri, pipi-vaka, pipi-ekaeka, pipi-nehenehe, pipi-momoko, ningoningo.*** Shells of sea snails are found in great quantities near ancient settlements and in caves.

HOUSES

Easter Islanders lived in thatched houses, in semi-underground houses, or in caves. All their dwellings were uncomfortable; the low houses were overcrowded, the caves dark and wet. Such indifference to comfort is not astonishing when one remembers that the natives lived mostly out-of-doors and that the houses were shelters for the night or for rainy days only. Scarcity of wood is partly responsible for the crudeness of the huts, but nothing prevented the building of more stone houses of the Orongo type. Though today all the islanders have frame houses, they are small and crowded. A few modern houses are built of stone, but this type is becoming obsolete.

CAVES

COASTAL CAVES

The coasts of Easter Island, especially along the west and north, are perforated with caves (***ana***), which have been used by the islanders either as permanent dwellings or as shelters for the night during fishing expeditions. When they are overtaken by darkness far from their homes, the natives go to sleep in the nearest cave.

Thomson, Routledge, and I have excavated the ground of several coastal caves and found hooks, bone needles, and wrought bone fragments, indicating that those caves were once occupied by day and that fishermen used them as workshops. Some caves, especially that of Ovahe, seem to have been arranged for longer occupancy. The entrances are protected by stone walls, and inside are stone platforms on which to sleep. Some of these platforms are covered with a layer of straw—testimony that the natives still sleep there. The largest of these caves is Ana-havea on the south coast.

INLAND CAVES

The name ***hare-kionga*** designates inland caves or subterranean lava tubes, where defeated people are said to have taken refuge during wars. That this was the essential purpose of these strange dwellings we do not know, but the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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few years before Young's visit, Thomson had purchased from the natives what he calls a "fowl god" (*maea moa*, stone of fowls) which he describes (215, p. 537) as "a beach pebble with slight traces of tool-marks" that was placed under a setting hen before the eggs were hatched. Stones incised with designs of the vulva are common on the island and had no connection with the purported ceremony of the *hakatoro* (stretching of a girl's clitoris) as suggested by Young (229, p. 32). The stretching of the girl's clitoris (*repe*) was not a special rite, but a long process of deformation which lasted for years under the care of the girl's mother. Routledge counted 49 signs of the vulva (*komari*) on the rocks at Orongo and observes that the "*komari* is frequently found on hollow stones and elsewhere" (194, p. 449). The same symbol appears on a stone which was given to Thomson as a fish god (215, p. 537):

> This rough, ill-shaped stone was one of the objects really worshipped by the natives. Some of them bear evidences of tool marks, but it does not appear that any effort was made to carve them. These gods were never common, and were possessed by communities or clans [lineages], and not by individuals. The legends claim that they were all brought to the island by Hotu Matua and the first settlers.

In a field near Mataveri we found a large stone, about 3 feet high, on which the conventionalized design of the big-eyed god was carved five times. The location of this stone in the middle of the cultivated grounds resembles strongly the *kumara* gods of New Zealand, which were temporary abiding-places for the *atua* and were placed in potato fields to insure a good harvest.

Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes stones selected for their shape which were supposed to bring luck. Some looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called *maea ika* (stones for fish). There were special ones called *maea kahi* for the *kahi* fish. These, according to Thomson (215, p. 537), had "no distinguishing characteristics."

Amulets were buried in houses. Thomson got a fair collection of them by digging beneath the door posts of ancient dwellings. "The majority are simply beach pebbles; others have been formed by rubbing; and one is a triangular-shaped stone with a face outlined upon it. These were placed beneath the houses, with much ceremony, and were supposed to ward off evil influences" (215, p. 538).

Natives frequently offered me stone blocks with natural holes which they called "nests for hens." They insisted that these stones, not unlike enormous egg-cups, were "good" for the hens and caused them to lay eggs. This interpretation was confirmed by the discovery of some of these stones in an old chicken house.

Among the "fetish stones" figured by Thomson (215, pl. 60, fig. 2) there is one identical with five stones in Bishop Museum (B3545) classified as "sharpening stones." All are elongated and have a more or less conical form. The porosity of the stones

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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condition, still adherent to the bed rock and measuring 69 feet 9 inches in length. 532

That evening, after dark, the natives remaining with us entertained us with an exhibition of their manner of capturing the crayfish. Stripped to the skin and holding aloft in the left hand a hugh lighted torch composed of loose fagots, they would jump from rock to rock and bowlder to bowlder with the agility of monkeys. Peering into the depths below, and having discovered their prey, they would leap into the water, often to their necks, deftly seize the crustacean and pass it to a companion who, with another burning torch, attended them for the purpose. Again they would sight their game in a cleft, or under a submerged overhanging rock, and, swiftly inserting the hand, would rarely fail to bring forth a captive. For an hour or more the sport continued. The sight was a strange, wierd, savage, and interesting one, and the array of *ura* (Rapa Nui for crayfish), which at the termination of the hunt they proudly spread before us gave ample testimony to their dexterity. 226

Sunday, December 26, the writer passed quietly in camp, and the following day was devoted to further explorations and excavations. 123

Tuesday, December 28, we broke camp and abandoned Ana Hiaven, which had so long sheltered us, all the party, except the paymaster and writer, returning across the island to the ship, which had been moved around to La Perouse Bay, on the north side of the island, for the more convenient transportation on board of the selected image.

In company with Mr. Salmon, who had passed the previous night with us at the cave, and riding with him in his "buggy," we were taken to his house at Vaihu, formerly a Catholic mission but now abandoned as such. The church and parsonage, with outbuildings, are still standing, the former being used in part as a storehouse, while in the remaining portion divine service is held daily under native leadership. The parsonage, comprising three rooms, is occupied by Mr. Salmon as his dwelling, and he has here displayed a portion of his very curious, interesting, and valuable collection of Rapa Nui antiquities. 797

It is but just to note, in this place, that too much credit can not be awarded Mr. Salmon for the great interest he takes in everything pertaining to the island—its history, its people, traditions, and remains. He is an enthusiast upon this subject, has made it a study of years, and has devoted time, money, and his best energies toward assisting in elucidating the mystery which envelops this isolated mid-ocean island, its hieroglyphs, its rock carvings, its colossal remains and the strange people who wrought them. Mr. Salmon has resided here for a period of seven years in all, and during that time, in addition to his large collection, he has made a study of his subject, has interested himself in the natives and their improvement, and has accumulated a large amount of information, legends, and traditions, which otherwise, perhaps, would in a few years have perished with the people 060

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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sides. As bad weather might prevent fresh consignments of food during the weeks of waiting, the men carefully dried on the rocks the skins of the bananas and potatoes which they had brought with them, to be consumed in case of necessity, and it was added with a touch appreciated by those acquainted with the Easter Island, that if the man who thus practised foresight was not careful others who had no food would steal it when he was not looking.

In addition to the "manu-tara," or sacred bird, which is a species of tern, the natives say that seven other kinds of birds, whose names they gave, inhabit Motu Nui; three of these were said to stop all the year round, two to come for the winter, and three, including the tara, for the summer. No good reason was given for the selection of the tara; its cry is its most marked peculiarity; the approach of the flight can be heard for miles and the noise during nesting is said to be deafening; in a cave on the islet there is an incised drawing of the bird with open beak from which a series of lines spreads out fanwise, obviously representing the volume of sound. Names in imitation of these sounds were given to children, such as "Piriuru," "Wero-wero," "Ka-ara-ara." It is worth noting that the coming of the tara inaugurates the deep-sea fishing season; till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous. The birds arrived in September and on first alighting tarried only a short time; immediately on their departure the hopu rushed out to find the egg, or, according to another account, it was the rushing out of the hopu which frightened away the birds. The gods intervened in the hunt, so that the man who was not destined to win went past the egg even when it lay right in his path. The first finder rushed up to the highest point of the islet calling to his employer by name, "Shave your head, you have got the egg." The cry was taken up by the watchers in the cave on the mainland, and the fortunate victor, beside himself with joy, proceeded to

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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FIG. 86.

343
[231]

HOUSE FOR CHICKENS.

FIG. 87.

[226]

A TOWER USED BY FISHERMEN.

218]

[facing p. 218]

The food consisted of the usual tropical products, such as potatoes, bananas, sugar-cane, and taro. Animal diet formed a very small part of it, rats being the only form of mammal; but chickens played an important rôle in native life, and the remains of the dwellings made for them are much more imposing than those for human beings. They are solid cairns, in the centre of which was a chamber, running the greater part of their length; it was entered from outside by two or more narrow tunnels, down which the chickens could pass. They were placed here at night for the sake of safety, as it was impossible to remove the stones in the dark without making a noise (fig. 86). Fish are not very plentiful, as there is no barrier reef, but they also were an article of diet, and were bartered by those on the coast for the vegetable products obtained by those further inland. Fish hooks made of stone were formerly used, and a legend tells of a man who had marvellous success because he used one made of human bone. The heroes of the tales are also spoken of as fishing with nets. There are in various places on the coast round towers, built of stone, which are said to have been look-out towers whence watchers on land communicated the whereabouts of the fish to those at sea; these contained a small chamber below which was used as a sleeping apartment (fig. 87). Turtles appear on the carvings on the rock, and are alluded to in legend, and turtle-shell ornaments were worn; but the water is too cold for them ever to have been common, and Anakena is almost the only sandy bay where they could have come on shore.

The sole form of dress was the cloth made from the paper mulberry, and known throughout the South Seas as tapa; it was used for loin-cloths and wraps, which the Spaniards describe as fastening over one shoulder. Head-gear was a very important point, as witnessed by the way the islanders always stole the caps of the various European sailors. The natives had various forms of crowns made of feathers, some of them reserved for special occasions. Cherished feathers, particularly those of white cocks, were brought out of gourds, where they had been carefully kept, to manufacture specimens for the Expedition. The crowns are generally made to form a shade over the eyes, like the head-dresses of the images. Naturally, every effort was made to find the prototype of the image hats. No one recollected ever seeing anything precisely like it, but among the pictures drawn for us of various head-decorations was a cylindrical hat

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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it with open beak, from which a series of lines spreads out fanwise, obviously representing the volume of sound; names in imitation of these sounds were given to children, such as "Piuru," "Wero-wero," "Ka-ara-ara." It is worth noting that the coming of the tara inaugurates the deep-sea fishing season; till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous. The birds on first alighting tarried only a short time; immediately on their departure the hopu rushed out to find the egg, or, according to another account, the rushing out of the hopu frightened away the birds. The gods intervened in the hunt, so that the man who was not destined to win went past the egg even when it lay right in his path. The first finder rushed up to the highest point of the islet, calling to his employer by his new name, "Shave your head, you have got the egg." The cry was taken up by the watchers in the cave on the mainland, and the fortunate victor, beside himself with joy, proceeded to shave his head and paint it red, while the losers showed their grief by cutting themselves with mataa.

The defeated hopu started at once to swim from the island to the shore, while the winner, who was obliged to fast while the egg was in his possession, put it in a little basket, and, going down to the landing-rock, dipped it into the sea. One meaning of the word hopu is "wash." He then tied the basket round his forehead and was able to swim quickly, as the gods were with him. At this stage sometimes accidents occurred, for if the sea was rough, an unlucky swimmer might be dashed on the rocks and killed. In one instance, it was said, only one man escaped with his life, owing, as he reported, to his having been warned by Maké-maké not to make the attempt. When the hopu arrived on the mainland, he handed over the egg to his employer, and a tangata-rongo-rongo tied round the arm which had taken it a fragment of red tapa and also a piece of the tree known as "ngau-ngau," reciting meanwhile the appropriate words. The finding was announced by a fire being lit on the landward side of the summit of Rano Kao on one of two sites, according to whether the Ao came from the west or east side of the island.

It will be remembered that on the rocks which terminate the settlement of Orongo the most numerous of the carvings is the figure of a man with the head of a bird; it is in a crouching